

## Message Text

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FOR HODDING CARTER FROM S/PRS

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (VANCE, CYR)

SUBJECT: PRESS ITEMS - AUGUST 21

NO. 1

1. GWERTZMAN'S NYT FRONT-PAGE ARTICLE ENTITLED 3 KEY ARAB COUNTRIES LINK SIGNING OF ISRAEL TREATY TO OVERALL ACCORD.  
BEGIN TEXT: EGYPT, SYRIA AND JORDAN HAVE INFORMED THE UNITED STATES THAT THEY WOULD SIGN PEACE TREATIES WITH ISRAEL AS PART OF AN OVERALL MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT. IN ADDITION EGYPT AND JORDAN SAID THEY WOULD CONSIDER A FURTHER AMERICAN PROPOSAL THAT THEY ALSO TAKE UP DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL.

THE INTENTION OF THE THREE ARAB COUNTRIES WAS MADE KNOWN TO SECRETARY OF STATE CYRUS R. VANCE DURING HIS RECENT MISSION TO THE MIDDLE EAST AND EXPLAINS IN PART THE AMERICAN VIEW THAT PROGRESS IN THE ARAB-ISRAEL NEGOTIATIONS IS POSSIBLE  
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DESPITE THE CONTINUING WIDE GAPS AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PARTIES.

ACCORDING TO ADMINISTRATION AND DIPLOMATIC SOURCES, MR. VANCE, DURING HIS 11-DAY TRIP TO THE MIDDLE EAST EARLIER

THIS MONTH OFFERED BOTH SIDES SEVERAL OPTIONS AND PROPOSALS FOR OVERCOMING OBSTACLES TO A MIDDLE EAST CONFERENCE AT GENEVA AND FOR THE PRINCIPLES TO GOVERN SUCH A CON-

ERENCE.

ASIDE FROM THE WILLINGNESS OF THE ARAB COUNTRIES TO SIGN PEACE TREATIES--A CHANGE FROM THEIR PREVIOUS REFUSAL TO SIGN AN ACTUAL TREATY WITH ISRAEL--THERE WAS LITTLE OTHER SUBSTANTIVE PROGRESS APPARENT.

BUT THE AMERICANS, ARABS AND ISRAELIS ALL SEEM HOPEFUL THAT A GENEVA CONFERENCE CAN BE CONVENED, POSSIBLY BY THE END OF THE YEAR, DESPITE THE SIGNS TO THE CONTRARY. THE OPTIMISM STEMS FROM THE PERCEPTION THAT ALL SIDES ARE NOW DISCUSSING WHAT MR. VANCE HAS CALLED THE "HARD NUTS TO CRACK" IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

HIS PROPOSALS TO THE ARABS AND ISRAELIS UP TO NOW HAVE BEEN KEPT SECRET. BUT SEVERAL SOURCES HAVE REVEALED THEM TO THE NEW YORK TIMES. THE CONTENTS DO NOT APPEAR INCONSISTENT WITH WHAT HAS BEEN SAID PUBLICLY BY PRESIDENT CARTER.

THE AMERICAN SUGGESTIONS FALL INTO TWO CATEGORIES: THOSE DEALING WITH STRICTLY PROCEDURAL QUESTIONS AND THOSE DEALING WITH THE SUBSTANTIVE PRINCIPLES THAT THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES SHOULD GOVERN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

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ON PROCEDURES, THE MAIN STUMBLING BLOCK TO RECONVENING A GENEVA CONFERENCE HAS BEEN THE ARAB INSISTENCE THAT THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION TAKE PART ALONG WITH THE ORIGINAL STATES THAT WERE INVITED--EGYPT, ISRAEL, JORDAN AND SYRIA--AND THE CO-CHAIRMEN, THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION.

THE ISRAELIS, WHO REGARD THE PLO AS A TERRORIST GROUP DEDICATED TO THEIR DESTRUCTION, HAVE REFUSED TO ADMIT THE PLO, AND THE UNITED STATES HAS AGREED THAT ISRAEL HAS THE RIGHT TO VETO THE PLO'S ATTENDANCE.

TO OVERCOME THIS PROBLEM MR. VANCE DURING HIS TRIP PROPOSED FOUR DIFFERENT APPROACHES. THE OPTIONS CAN BE SUMMARIZED IN THE FOLLOWING WAY:

THE FIRST OPTION CALLED ON THE ORIGINAL STATES TO ATTEND THE CONFERENCES AS SEPARATE DELEGATIONS, WITH "PALESTINIANS" PERMITTED TO ATTEND AS PART OF A NATIONAL DELEGATION, SUCH AS JORDAN.

THE SECOND WOULD HAVE THE ARAB COUNTRIES ATTEND AS A SINGLE UNIFIED GROUP WITH PALESTINIANS PART OF THE ARAB DELEGATION.

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THE THIRD DEFERRED THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION TO THE START OF THE CONFERENCE, THE FOURTH UNTIL LATER IN THE CONFERENCE.

ADMINISTRATION AND DIPLOMATIC SOURCES SAID THAT THE ISRAELIS ACCEPTED THE FIRST OPTION--THE SO-CALLED JORDANIAN-PALESTINIAN ONE--SO LONG AS THE TERM "PALESTINIAN" MEANT THE PLO WOULD NOT BE INCLUDED, ONLY PALESTINIANS NOT AFFILIATED WITH THE PLO.

THE ARAB LEADERS, IN THEIR TALKS WITH MR. VANCE, DID NOT ACCEPT ANY OPTION. THEY REPEATED WITH VARYING INTENSITY

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THAT THE PLO SHOULD BE INVITED TO GENEVA.

AS TO THE FOUR AMERICAN OPTIONS, THE ONE THAT SEEMED TO AROUSE THE MOST ARAB INTEREST WAS OPTION TWO--THE PAN-ARAB ONE THAT ORIGINALLY WAS SUGGESTED SOME TIME AGO BY SYRIA.

THE ISRAELIS REJECT THE IDEA OF NEGOTIATING WITH A PAN-ARAB DELEGATION, ASSERTING THAT THEY WANT TO TALK WITH EACH COUNTRY SEPARATELY.

BUT SOME DIPLOMATS BELIEVE A COMPROMISE CAN BE WORKED OUT ALONG THESE LINES:

IF THE PLO ACCEPTS UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242 OF 1967, WHICH HAS BEEN THE BASIS FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS, THE UNITED STATES--BUT NOT ISRAEL--WILL TALK WITH THE GROUP. IN ARAB EYES THIS MIGHT OBLIGE THE NEED FOR THE PLO TO BE FORMALLY AT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE TABLE.

THE ISRAELIS MIGHT DROP THEIR OBJECTION TO A PAN-ARAB GROUP IF THE ARABS AGREE AHEAD OF TIME THAT AFTER THE START OF THE CONFERENCE THEY WILL FORM SUBCOMMITTEES WITH ISRAEL ALONG NATIONAL LINES, SUCH AS EGYPT-ISRAEL, AND SYRIA-ISRAEL, TO DISCUSS THE PENDING ISSUES THROUGH AMERICAN AND SOVIET MEDIATION.

MR. VANCE HOPES THAT BEFORE THE FOREIGN MINISTERS ASSEMBLE IN THIS COUNTRY NEXT MONTH, THE PLO WILL ACCEPT RESOLUTION 242--AS SEVERAL ARAB STATES ASSERT IT MAY DO--AND THE

ARABS CAN AGREE ON A SINGLE AMERICAN OPTION OR PROPOSE ANOTHER OF THEIR OWN.

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ON SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES, MR. VANCE OUTLINED POSSIBLE PRINCIPLES TO GUIDE THE WORK AT A GENEVA CONFERENCE.

THE ARAB STATES HAVE WANTED TO NEGOTIATE AS MUCH OF AN AGREEMENT AS CAN BE DONE AHEAD OF TIME, LEAVING AS LITTLE AS POSSIBLE FOR THE CONFERENCE; THE GOVERNMENT OF PRIME MINISTER MENAHEM BEGIN OF ISRAEL WANTS TO LEAVE AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE OF THE SUBSTANTIVE WORK TO GENEVA.

THE AMERICAN PRINCIPLES FALL INTO THREE BROAD CATEGORIES.

ON THE ISSUE OF THE NATURE OF PEACE THE UNITED STATES SAID THAT A SETTLEMENT SHOULD GO BEYOND A MERE END OF THE STATE OF WAR TO INCLUDE A PEACE TREATY AND NORMAL TIES BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS ARAB NEIGHBORS, INCLUDING DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS.

ON THE QUESTION OF THE FINAL BORDERS, THE UNITED STATES SAID ISRAEL SHOULD WITHDRAW IN PHASES TO SECURE AND RECOGNIZED BORDERS--AS CALLED FOR IN RESOLUTION 242--ON THE EGYPTIAN, SYRIAN AND JORDANIAN FRONTS, GIVING UP THE LAND CAPTURED IN THE 1967 WAY WITH MINOR MODIFICATIONS.  
END TEXT.

2. UPI ARTICLE ENTITLED UNITED STATES ASKS THE SOUTH AFRICANS ABOUT A-BOMB PLAN. BEGIN TEXT. THE UNITED STATES HAS FORMALLY ASKED THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WHETHER REPORTS THAT IT PLANS TO TEST A NUCLEAR BOMB ARE ACCURATE, THE STATE DEPARTMENT SAID TODAY.

THE INQUIRY WAS MADE IN THE ;LAST WEEK OR SO" AND WAS ACCCOMPANIED BY A WARNING TO THE TROUBLED, WHITE-RULED NATION THAT ANY NUCLEAR TESTS WOULD CARRY "SERIOUS IMPLICATIONS," SAID JOHN MEDEIROS, A STATE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN.

HE SAID THE UNITED STATES WAS SEEKING SOUTH AFRICA'S  
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AGREEMENT TO SIGN A TREATY DESIGNED TO STOP THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

MR. MEDEIROS SAID THE FIRST REPORTS THAT SOUTH AFRICA WAS NEARING THE TESTING STAGE OF A NUCLEAR WEAPON APPEARED IN THE SOVIET PRESS ABOUT TWO WEEKS AGO.

"WE KNOW THAT THE SOVIET UNION SHARES OUR CONCERN OVER NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION AND WE ARE THEREFORE TAKING THEIR

ALLEGATIONS IN THIS MATTER SERIOUSLY," HE SAID. "THE POSSIBILITY THAT ANOTHER COUNTRY MAY BE MOVING TOWARDS THE TESTING OF A NUCLEAR DEVICE IS OF THE GRAVEST CONCERN

TO US.

"IT IS U.S. NATIONAL POLICY THAT NUCLEAR FACILITIES SHOULD BE PLACED UNDER INTERNATIONAL SAFEGUARDS ADMINISTERED BY THE INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY, SOUTH AFRICA IS NOT A PARTY TO THE NONPROLIFERATION TREATY AND HAS HAD FOR SOME TIME AN UNSAFEGUARDED PILOT URANIUM ENRICHMENT PLANT.

"WHILE THIS IS NOT EVIDENCE THAT SOUTH AFRICA INTENDS TO DETONATE A BOMB OR A NUCLEAR DEVICE," MR. MEDEIROS SAID, "IT HAS BEEN A SOURCE OF CONCERN TO US. SO WHAT WE WOULD LIKE THEM TO DO IS PLACE THE PLANT UNDER SAFEGUARDS AND SIGN THE NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION TREATY."

SUCH SAFEGUARDS, HE SAID, ARE DESIGNED TO PREVENT THE USE OF ENRICHED URANIUM TO BUILD NUCLEAR BOMBS.

"AND WE HAVE BEEN IMPRESSING UPON THEM THAT WE WOULD REGARD NUCLEAR WEAPONS DEVELOPMENT AND TESTING AS HAVING THE MOST SERIOUS IMPLICATIONS," HE SAID. END TEXT.

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3. DAVID BRODER COLUMN ON OP-ED PAGE OF WASH POST

BEGIN TEXT: IT IS AN ODDITY OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S FOREIGN POLICY THAT THE SCOPE OF HIS INITIATIVES SEEMS TO BE IN INVERSE RELATION TO THE SIZE OF THE COUNTRIES INVOLVED.

THE PRESIDENT HAS MADE A TREATY WITH PANAMA, AN AGREEMENT WITH CUBA AND ANY NUMBER OF PROPOSALS TO RHODESIA, ISRAEL, VIETNAM, KOREA AND THE OTHER WELTERWEIGHT POWERS.

BUT IT HAS TAKEN ALMOST EIGHT MONTHS FOR THE ADMINISTRATION TO DISCOVER THE HUGE MASS OF CHINA. AND SECRETARY OF STATE VANCE, WHO IS THERE THIS WEEK, REPORTEDLY IS OPERATING UNDER PRESIDENTIAL INSTRUCTIONS TO MAKE NO WAVES.

JUST WHY THE PRESIDENT LIKES TO TAKE GIANT STRIDES IN TINY LANDS AND BABY STEPS WHEN DEALING WITH BIG POWERS IS NOT CLEAR. WHAT IS CERTAIN IS THAT HE DOES NOT DO SO ON THE BASIS OF THE UNANIMITY OF ADVICE FROM THOSE WHO CAN FAIRLY STYLE THEMSELVES EXPERTS ON CHINA - THE CATEGORY THAT MOST EMPHATICALLY DOES NOT INCLUDE THIS REPORTER.

AS NOTED HERE LAST SPRING, THE PANEL OF EXPERTS ASSEMBLED FOR THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS CONVENTION IN HONOLULU INCLUDED SEVERAL WHO ARGUED, IN EFFECT, THAT THE PRESIDENT SHOULD STOP FRITTERING AWAY HIS ENERGIES AT THE EDGES OF THE ASIAN CONTINENT IN KOREA AND VIETNAM AND THE PHILIPPINES -- AND GO TO THE SOURCE, WHICH IS

CHINA.

THAT VIEW REACHED THE CENTER OF AMERICAN POLITICS LAST WEEK WHEN SEN. EDWARD KENNEDY SAID THE TIME HAS COME TO ESTABLISH FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH PEKING WHILE DOWNGRADING THE RELATIONSHIP WITH TAIWAN TO ONE OF UNCLASSIFIED UNCLASSIFIED

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UNOFFICIAL SUPPORT FOR ITS MILITARY SECURITY AND ECONOMIC PROSPERITY.

MURREY MARDER, THE POST'S VETERAN DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT, SAID THE KENNEDY SPEECH REFLECTED THE VIEWS OF CHINA SPECIALISTS "INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE GOVERNMENT." SOME OF THOSE SPECIALISTS, MARDER REPORTED, WERE IN THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT. WHILE THE DEPARTMENT FORMALLY DISOWNED ANY COLLUSION WITH KENNEDY, IT WAS REPORTED TO BE PLEASED THAT KENNEDY'S SPEECH HAD BROUGHT THE HONOLULU DIALOGUE TO THE MAINLAND.

THE ONLY POINT WORTH NOTING, HOWEVER, IS THAT IN THIS ADMINISTRATION FOREIGN POLICY -- LIKE EVERY OTHER MAJOR POLICY -- IS REALLY MADE BY ONLY ONE "SPECIALIST." AND HIS NAME IS JIMMY CARTER.

CARTER'S APPROACH TO THE CHINESE QUESTION IS ONE OF GREAT CAUTION. THERE MAY OR MAY NOT BE SOLID DIPLOMATIC CONSIDERATIONS THAT WEIGH AGAINST THE BOLD MOVE THE CHINA HANDS ARE RECOMMENDING, THROUGH KENNEDY, TO CEMENT THE US-PEKING RELATIONSHIP AND FORESTALL ANY RAPPROCHEMENT BETWEEN PEKING AND MOSCOW.

BUT THERE ARE CLEARLY EVIDENT DOMESTIC CAUTIONS AGAINST SUCH BOLDNESS. CARTER IS WILLING TO CHALLENGE PREVAILING PUBLIC OPINION BY PROPOSING THE RETURN OF THE PANAMA CANAL TO PANAMA. BUT HE MUST CRINGE AT THE STORM THAT WOULD BLOW UP IF HE SIMULTANEOUSLY SHIFTED AMERICA'S RECOGNITION FROM TAIPEI TO PEKING.

A SURVEY TAKEN IN APRIL AND RELEASED LAST WEEK BY POTOMAC ASSOCIATES SHOWED THAT 62 PERCENT OF THE RESPONDENTS UNCLASSIFIED UNCLASSIFIED

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VIEWED FAVORABLY THE PROSPECT OF AMERICAN RELATIONS WITH PEKING. BUT ONLY 28 PERCENT FAVORED TAKING THE STEP OF DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION ON THE CONDITIONS THAT PEKING HAS SET.

THEY WOULD REQUIRE A RENUNCIATION OF OUR DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION AND DEFENSE TREATIES WITH TAIWAN, EVEN IF SOFTENED BY AN EXPRESSION OF PRESIDENTIAL CONCERN ABOUT THE NATIONALIST ISLAND'S SECURITY AND PROSPERITY.

THE SURVEY FOUND VERY CAUTIOUS ATTITUDES TOWARD ACTIVE AMERICAN PARTICIPATION IN THE DEFENSE OF TAIWAN, BUT EVEN GREATER SKEPTICISM TOWARD ANY DELIBERATE EFFORT TO STRENGTHEN CHINA AS A RIVAL TO THE SOVIET UNION.

AS THE AUTHORS CONCLUDED, "CLEARLY THERE IS NO SET OF CHINA POLICIES THAT WILL WIN UNANIMOUS SUPPORT .... THE TASK OF THE PRESIDENT ... IS TO ARTICULATE A CHINA POLICY WHICH ... BEST SUITS HIS OVERALL VIEW OF AMERICAN INTER-NATIONAL INTERESTS."

A START ON THAT TASK, ONE HOPES, WILL NOT BE LONG DELAYED AFTER VANCE'S RETURN FROM PEKING. BIG COUNTRIES DEMAND ATTENTION, EVEN WHEN BIG ACTIONS ARE UNTIMELY. END TEXT.

4. NYT DID NOT RUN ENTIRE TEXT OF GWERTZMAN ARTICLE. FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS APPEARED IN WASH STAR, NOT NYT, AT CONCLUSION OF STORY. BEGIN TEXT.

ON THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION, THE UNITED STATES SAID THERE SHOULD BE A PALESTINIAN "ENTITY", THE FORM OF WHICH SHOULD EVENTUALLY BE DECIDED BY SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE PALESTINIANS.

ACCORDING TO THE AMERICANS, THE ARAB COUNTRIES ALL ACCEPTED THE CONCEPT THAT THERE SHOULD BE PEACE TREATIES. BUT THE UNCLASSIFIED  
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ARABS SAID SUCH TREATIES DID NOT NECESSARILY ENCOMPASS "NORMALIZATION" OF RELATIONS. THE EGYPTIANS AND JORDANIANS, HOWEVER, SAID THAT THEY WOULD CONSIDER POSSIBLE STEPS TOWARD NORMALIZATION AND RESPOND TO VANCE LATER.

BEGIN REGARDED THIS AS VANCE'S MOST IMPORTANT ACHIEVEMENT. THE ISRAELIS ENDORSED THIS POINT.

ON THE OTHER TWO POINTS, HOWEVER, THERE WERE WIDE DIFFERENCES.

THE ARABS STILL INSISTED FORMALLY ON ISRAEL'S RELINQUISHING ALL THE LAND TAKEN IN THE 1967 WAR, AND THE ISRAELIS REFUSED TO AGREE THAT THEY MUST GIVE UP ALMOST ALL THE LAND.

ON THE PALESTINE QUESTION, THE ARABS DID NOT AGREE AMONG THEMSELVES ON JUST HOW A PALESTINIAN ENTITY SHOULD BE FORMED. VANCE HOPES THEY WILL BE MORE PRECISE NEXT MONTH.

THE ISRAELIS MADE IT CLEAR THEY OPPOSE ANY SEPARATE PALESTINIAN ENTITY ON THEIR BORDERS. VANCE ALSO SUGGESTED A POSSIBLE TRUSTEESHIP FOR THE WEST BANK--AN IDEA REJECTED BY ARABS AND ISRAELIS.

OVER-ALL, THE AMERICANS CAME AWAY BELIEVING THAT THE ARABS HAD MADE SOME MODEST MOVES ON THE QUESTION OF PEACE, BUT THAT THE ISRAELIS WERE STILL QUITE HARD-NOSED ON THE TERRITORIAL AND PALESTINIAN QUESTIONS.

THIS HAS PRODUCED EXPECTATIONS OF EVENTUAL US-ISRAELI CONFRONTATION, BUT ISRAELI AND SOME US OFFICIALS INSISTED THIS WAS NOT INEVITABLE. THEY ASSERTED THAT BEGIN MAY PROVE MORE FLEXIBLE THAN MANY US OBSERVERS BELIEVE. END TEXT.

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